

## SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF SOUTHERN CITIES\*

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THE subject to be discussed in this paper is the effect of the growth of manufacturing industries upon cities and towns in the South or, more precisely, upon urban society. Although we have a wealth of good studies of urbanization and of industrialization in this region, very little actual research seems to have been done on our particular subject. The following observations are largely a fruit of my travels in the region and, to some extent, a by-product of my forthcoming study of the *Labor Force in Louisiana*.† I am also indebted to several of my former students

for information, particularly on small cities and towns.

### I. INDUSTRIALIZATION VERSUS URBANIZATION

Industrialization and urbanization should not be considered as identical processes, as we might be tempted to do because of the decisive influence which modern industry has had upon the development of cities in the last century and a half. But cities have been in existence before industrialization began, and not all cities are highly industrialized. This certainly holds for many cities in the South. Furthermore, much of the industrial development has been a consequence rather than a cause of city growth. We shall therefore have to consider first, the economic origins of southern

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cities, and second, the role of industries in the development of cities in the region, before we can discuss the effect of industrialization upon urban society. The latter discussion will be limited to the immediate effects upon the ecology and social structure of urban communities, while the indirect consequences and the changes in the occupational composition of the labor force and other economic consequences of industrialization will not be considered.

## II. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHERN CITIES

1. With few exceptions, southern cities did not originate as industrial communities. This is particularly true of the larger cities, with Birmingham as the most notable exception. The South being a rural region with a colonial type of agriculture, most of its older cities developed as ports, railway and commercial centers, or as local trading and marketing towns<sup>1</sup> and as temporary residences of wealthy planter families. The oldest industries in the South, those engaged in processing the products of the farm and the forest, were largely located in rural communities and small towns. The cities had to depend almost entirely on commerce and trade. Purely commercial cities, however, seldom attain very large size. Those old cities of the South whose commercial function faded away through changes in the transportation system were doomed to stagnation unless they offered also factors of attraction for manufacturing industries. Like some of the old cities of Europe that ceased to grow when trade routes changed, many of the older cities in the South stagnated when the transatlantic and inland trade shifted to northern cities; and just as some of the old commercial towns of Europe experienced another spell of growth when, for some reason or other, manufacturing industries began to locate in them, thus New Orleans, Mobile, and other southern cities

experienced an economic rejuvenation when manufacturing industries began to develop, while Savannah, Georgia, (population, 1940—118,000), and Charleston, South Carolina (population 1940—99,000), illustrate the other type.<sup>2</sup>

Contrary to the most important European commercial cities which were also old centers of handicraft, producing many commodities for long distance trade, the older southern cities lacked such a broad basis of industrial production. Until late in the nineteenth century they were places of export and import trade, exporting mainly products of primary industries and importing the products of European handicraft and manufactures. Apparently, the wealth of planters and merchants did not support a broad layer of local artisans and craftsmen. This fact has been of great significance for the social changes that took place when industrialization began.

2. We shall now turn to our second question: The role of industrialization in the development of southern cities. By industrialization we mean the development and growth of "secondary" industries: the extraction of coal, oil, natural gas, and other minerals, the construction industry and, most important of all, the manufacturing and mechanical industries. The role of an industry in urbanization depends in the first line on the factors that determine its location. Some of these industries are *consumer-oriented*,<sup>3</sup> like bakeries, printing shops, gas, power plants, and to some extent the construction industry. Their location tends to correspond to the distribution of population; they are to be found in all larger communities and in fairly fixed ratios to the population of the community and its trade area. In the case of these industries it is hardly meaningful to speak of a contribution to urbanization or an "effect" upon urban society. They develop as urban society develops and they are part and parcel of it. A great deal of the earlier growth of secondary industries in the South has been in this class and a great deal of recent development also belongs to it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Simkins, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> The terminology with regard to location of industries is that of Alfred Weber's, on whose theory this section is based. See Alfred Weber, "Industrielle Standortslehre," in *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, VI (Tübingen 1923).

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted, however, that with the increasing dependence of the rural population upon urban industry and commercial services, the development of these consumer-oriented industries tends to

<sup>1</sup> Walter J. Matherly, "The Emergence of the Metropolitan Community in the South," *Social Forces*, 14 (March, 1936), p. 323. "The cities of the Old South were exclusively commercial; they were centers of surrounding agricultural territories; they were largely the product of agrarianism. But with the rise of industrialism, new types of cities appeared. Since the turn of the century the industrial cities emerged. . . . The growth of trade has likewise contributed, more greatly than any other factor to the rise of metropolitan centers in the South. . . ." See also Francis Butler Simkins, *The South, Old and New*, New York: Knopf, 1947), pp. 68-69.

Other industries are either *raw-material oriented*, like steel mills and sugar refineries, or *labor oriented* like most of the southern textile industry. Among these two groups are the truly city-building industries, those that draw people into cities and whose growth tends to speed up the growth of an urban population. Consequently, our analysis should be primarily concerned with them.

Now it so happens that in the South a large proportion of the important secondary industries are raw-material oriented. This is not merely due to the presence of resources, but also a consequence of the well-known freight rate structure. Whether these industries will be located in cities or in rural areas, whether they tend to develop large industrially diverse urban communities or tend to create only small or medium-sized industrially specialized towns, depends on the nature of their main raw materials and the location of resources, together with the industry's dependence upon cheap transportation facilities and other factors.<sup>5</sup>

One of the oldest industries in the South and one of the most important industries in regard to employment is the lumber industry. It is definitely raw-material oriented. The rapid exhaustion of timber resources made it a temporary industry in many localities. The sawmills were rarely located in large cities, but rather spread and scattered over the country side. Consequently, this industry created a large number of small mono-industrial communities, but contributed little directly to the growth of larger cities. However, in many cases it laid the foundation for a larger community, as some of the sawmill towns developed beyond the mono-industrial stage and became cities of more diversified industrial structure. In some cases this was due to the establishment of additional wood-using industries. The-

furniture industry, the production of paper and cardboard containers, and the rayon industry belong in this group. The wood-using industries are, as a rule, more concentrated locally than the lumber industry. Consequently, the workers in these industries tend to be living in cities, while the sawmill workers tend to be living largely in rural areas and small towns. A striking example of city development due to the sequence of saw mills and paper mills is the town of Bogaloussa in Louisiana, an urban community of very recent origin. Another example is Monroe in north Louisiana.

In other cases the continued growth of lumber towns was due to the agglomeration of new industries oriented towards different raw materials at the locations of the lumber industry. This happened in several cities of the deep South and coastal Southwest with the coming of the petroleum industry. Refineries and chemical plants using the products and by-products of oil refineries—as well as natural gas—were in several cases established in old lumber industry towns.

Reasons for this "agglomeration" of two entirely different industries were probably the dependence of both upon water transportation,<sup>6</sup> the location of their respective raw materials in the same general

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See also Rupert B. Vance, *All These People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945), p. 276.

In Louisiana we found that of all workers in manufacturing industries in 1940, 57.6 percent were living in urban communities, 33.7 percent were rural-nonfarm, and 8.7 percent rural farm. In the lumber industry, however, only 29 percent of the workers were living in urban communities, whereas in the paper industry 51.5 percent were classified as urban residents. In the crude petroleum and gas production, only 41.9 percent were living in urban communities, 49.6 were classified as rural-nonfarm residents, and 9.4 percent lived on rural farms, while in the group petroleum products and chemical industries, 51.0 percent were urban, 42.8 percent rural nonfarm, and 6.2 percent rural farm. Although these data need considerable refinement, they do give an idea of the differences in urbanizing effect between various industry groups.

<sup>6</sup> Oil refineries are not necessarily located near the origin of petroleum, which can be transported economically over long distances by pipeline or water transportation. The Baton Rouge refinery receives petroleum in both ways, from oil fields in the region and from Venezuela. Coastal lumber mills also receive part of their raw material (valuable tropical timber) from overseas. The shipment of bulky products like saw timber and gasoline by water way is of course also advantageous.

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be increasingly influenced by the demands of rural customers in the metropolitan region of the city. Bakeries, for instance, sell increasing proportions of their production in rural territory. But a large-scale bakery is not likely to be established except in a city of considerable size.

<sup>5</sup> Harriet L. Herring, *Southern Industry and Regional Development* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p. 72 shows the share of the South in 55 industries in 1937. Among the twenty industry groups of whose total wage earners the Southeast had 25 percent or more, only about ten may be considered as definitely city-building industries. Of the entire list the same proportion is probably in this class.

areas, and the advantage, for the more recent industries, of finding already a local nucleus of industrial labor. Baton Rouge or even better Lake Charles and the area of Beaumont-Port Arthur in the southeastern corner of Texas are good examples of this sequence.

However, the job-creating capacity of the petroleum and basic chemical industries is low<sup>7</sup> and the direct effect of these industries upon urban growth is not very strong. On the other hand, these are high wage industries which exert a considerable stimulus upon the development of trade and services, and they also attract a variety of auxiliary industries. Among the raw-material oriented branches of the food industry, which are very important with regard to employment in the deep South, none can be considered as city-building industries if taken by themselves. The canning and drying of seafood and of fruits and vegetables are typically rural industries, scattered over many small towns and villages. Cane sugar refineries, too, tend to be located in rural communities.

The greatest city-building industry, the iron and steel industry, is so far almost entirely concentrated in the Birmingham metropolitan area. Here, of course, was an ideal location for this industry because iron, coal, and limestone—the three basic materials in steel production—occur in this same locality. Birmingham, which incidentally was founded in the same year of 1871, when the German steel magnate, Friedrich Krupp, had already reaped great profits from his armament factory in Essen, is an outstanding example of the urbanizing force of the iron and steel industry. It is probably the most outstanding example in the South of purely industrial origin of a large city. However, Birmingham has for a long time been lagging behind the chief northern centers of iron and steel production as far as diversification is concerned. This has been explained by the relatively restricted size of the southern market for steel products.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See Herring, *op. cit.* Some recent expansions at the Esso Standard Oil Co. refinery at Baton Rouge indicate a range of investment per job created from about 10,000 to about 90,000 dollars per job (*State Times*, Baton Rouge, April 13, 1948, p. 1).

<sup>8</sup> Andreas Predoehl, "Die oertliche Verteilung der amerikanischen Eisen-und Stahlindustrie," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, 27 (Jena, 1928), pp. 240, 246, 270, 276, 289. Also: Temporary National Economic Committee, Investigation of Concentration of Economic Power. Monograph No. 42. The Basing Point

Another and most striking example of industrial origin of a city is Oak Ridge, Tennessee, child of World War II and product of the most recent industry in the region. While its population in 1946 was estimated at 48,000, it may grow into a considerably larger center, provided that other industries will locate at the same place.

If we turn now to the *Labor-oriented* industries in the South, we have to consider in the first line the South's most notorious problem child: the cotton textile industry. One of the main city builders in nineteenth century Europe and in New England, this industry had its main period of growth in the South at a time when electrification in connection with a relatively ample labor supply in rural areas made concentration in large cities unnecessary and decentralization in small urban communities possible. Thus, the growth of the textile industry in the Piedmont, while certainly contributing to urbanization, did not result in the development of an American Manchester or Chemnitz. With few exceptions, the southern textile communities are small.<sup>9</sup> However, in some cases textile mills have been located in cities where an already established but more or less exclusively men-employing industry left a sufficient supply of female labor unutilized. The agglomeration of the hosiery industry at a furniture manufacturing center like High Point, North Carolina, illustrates this case. The fuller utilization of the labor force will, of course, result in larger aggregate payrolls and thereby stimulate the growth of trade and services.

The concentration of the cigarette and tobacco industry in two larger North Carolina urban areas, Winston-Salem and Durham, is most likely the result of a combination of labor- and raw-material orientation, and without the additional factor of an extraordinary concentration of capital, this

Problem (Washington, D. C. 1941), pp. 17, 18 and *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> According to R. B. Vance, *op. cit.*, p. 307, Table 84, (Percent of Manufacturing Establishments by Size of City and Type of Manufacture, North Carolina Catawba Valley, 1938), the furniture and chemical industries were more concentrated in larger cities than the textile industry. Among the latter, plants making wearing apparel, silk rayon, and dyeing and finishing plants were more concentrated in cities of 10,000 or over than plants making cotton yarns and cotton fabrics. Only 35 percent of all establishments in the area were in cities of 25,000 and over (65.1 per cent in cities 10,000 or over).

industry as such would scarcely have created any important urban centers.<sup>10</sup>

So much for the urbanizing effect of southern industries. A more refined and comprehensive analysis would have to take into consideration the importance of secondary factors of location, such as water transportation, water supply, and the availability of electric power and natural gas.

The indirect effects of industrialization upon city development were demonstrated in a highly dramatic fashion during the Second World War when increases in manufacturing employment in cities like New Orleans were accompanied by very strong increases in employment in trade, transportation, and services.<sup>11</sup>

Before we proceed to discuss the consequences of industrialization for urban society, let us briefly consider the pattern of geographic distribution of cities in the South as it results from the factors determining the location of raw-material-oriented and labor-oriented industries.<sup>12</sup>

We saw that the South has relatively few large cities which owe their existence to the agglomeration of raw material oriented industries, like the big manufacturing cities of the North. In the labor oriented industries, two contradictory tendencies can be observed in a society where labor is free to move: the workers tend to concentrate at the large labor markets, where employment opportunities are most numerous and diverse, while employers, unless the nature of their enterprise ties them also definitely to the large labor markets, tend to move away from the big cities in order to evade high land prices and high wage levels. This latter tendency has been strong in the South. One recalls the typical advertising of entrepreneurs who want to establish a plant in a small community

with an ample supply of labor and without competing enterprises, in order to attain a virtual monopoly over the local labor market. This tendency has been favored on the workers' part by lack of knowledge of employment opportunities in distant large cities and probably in many cases by the desire to be able to fall back on farming in old age or depression,<sup>13</sup> all of which factors have contributed to hold labor in small cities and in the surrounding country. The result has been a wide dispersion of manufacturing industries in many but relatively small cities and a relative sparsity of large cities.

Distances between large cities are much greater than in the older manufacturing regions of the North, and there are in the South no very large clusters of smaller cities. While we find in some highly industrialized subregions, like the Piedmont, strings of cities lined up along the highways, there are no large compactly urbanized areas; even in the more densely industrialized parts of North Carolina, which have been studied by Howard W. Odum, Rupert B. Vance, Harriet L. Herring and their associates, there appears to be evolving a new constellation pattern of urban communities, consisting of small central cities with still smaller satellite communities and considerable dispersion of workers in the open country.<sup>14</sup> Similar patterns can be observed along the Gulf Coast from Pensacola to Galveston and Houston.

However, in order to see this pattern in its true significance, one ought to realize that the war-time industrial boom did not result in much further decentralization of industry in the region; on the contrary, most of the gains in population and increases in industrial employment were concentrated in already established centers of manufacturing.<sup>15</sup> Oak Ridge is an exception rather than a typical case.

These statements concerning the pattern of city

<sup>10</sup> Simkins, *op. cit.*, p. 377 "Concentration of the [tobacco] industry into fewer cities in larger factories . . . [was] part of the Duke strategy."

<sup>11</sup> Rudolf Heberle, "Survey of the War-time Labor Force of Louisiana" (U. S. Employment Service, Louisiana, 1945), p. 22 f. and *passim*. In New Orleans these increases were concentrated in the central business district rather than in the "neighborhood" shopping centers; in other words, they occurred in establishments serving the war-industry workers (and soldiers).

<sup>12</sup> The important work of the late August Lösch, *Die räumliche Ordnung der Wirtschaft* [2.ed. Jena 1944] came to my attention too late to find consideration in this article. If translated it should prove to be of great value in all studies dealing with the location of cities and industries.

<sup>13</sup> Theres R. Black, *Part-time Farming among Industrial Workers in East Baton Rouge Parish* (M.A. Thesis in Sociology, L.S.U. 1941) finds that this was one of the most frequent reasons given for acquisition of a farm by petroleum refinery workers.

<sup>14</sup> Rupert B. Vance, *op. cit.*, chaps. 19 and 20, especially pp. 306, 317.

<sup>15</sup> Rudolf Heberle, "The Impact of the War on Population Redistribution in the South," *Papers of the Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences*, Vanderbilt University, Number Seven (Nashville, Tennessee, Vanderbilt University Press, 1945), pp. 24 to 30.

location are, of course, more or less hypothetical. To analyse the economic factors which have contributed to the development of the present geographic distribution of cities in the South would be very interesting. One would probably find: (1) a system of major export- and import-trade cities, (2) a much more numerous system of smaller local trading centers, and (3) a system of industrial cities, partly new, partly evolved out of cities of type (1) or (2).

### III. THE EFFECTS ON URBAN SOCIETY

1. The most obvious, most easily observable effects of industrialization are changes in the social ecology or human geography of the cities. These changes have been far from uniform.

In the older cities of the South, where industrialization began in the age of the steam engine and the street car, the pattern of ecology and the process of its evolution has been quite similar to that of American cities in general. This led authors like E. W. Parks to the conclusion that *all* southern cities would become more like the northern and eastern cities.<sup>16</sup> But in the majority of cities, especially the smaller ones, where industrialization occurred mainly in the age of electrification and the automobile, the ecological pattern seems to deviate from the older one. The more recent the industry, the greater seems to be the deviation.

In many cases the industrial plants were from the beginning located far outside the city, where unobstructed sites were available at low cost. If there had not yet been developed any large working class areas, the workers tended to live near the plants, even where the employer did not, as in the case of textile mill villages, provide dwellings for the employees. This tendency towards peripheral location of factories and plants is particularly pronounced in the case of the more recent basic industries, which, like the petroleum refineries and chemical plants, require ample space and cannot be

located in densely populated areas, for reasons of health and security. The location of the major industrial plants at Baton Rouge and the development of adjoining suburban areas inhabited by the employees is an outstanding example. The same pattern exists in an even more extreme form in Lake Charles, Louisiana, where the plants which were established during the second world war are located far out in the country, and where entirely separate workers' communities have sprung up at considerable distance from the old town. A more or less typical "ribbon" development along the main highways leading out of town is a characteristic element in this pattern.

This scattered growth may agree with the prevailing inclinations or preferences and particularly with the likings of workers of rural origin; it may make their accommodation to urban life easier; and it has definite military advantages as it reduces the vulnerability of a city from air attacks. But it certainly increases the overhead cost of road maintenance, sewerage, and utilities if it results in a population density below the minimum at which, according to the experience of city planners, those services cannot be provided at reasonable rates.<sup>17</sup>

The general extent of suburban expansion can be inferred from the high rate of population increase in the outlying parts of metropolitan districts<sup>18</sup> and also from the high rates of increase of "rural non-farm" population in counties containing large urban centers, an increase which is largely concentrated in suburban areas.

Another significant development can be observed with regard to the location of wealthy people's homes. It seems to be characteristic for the older, smaller, cities in the South that the homes of the socially prominent families were to be found just outside the central—and only—business district.

<sup>17</sup> Bartholomew and Associates, "The 25-Year City-Parish Plan for Metropolitan Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Preliminary Reports," chap. 3, Population (1945), p. 13 f. See also Th. R. Ford, *Maplewood: A planned Community in the Industrial South* (M.A. Thesis in Sociology, L.S.U., 1948).

<sup>16</sup> The statement by E. W. Parks that "Every possible forecast implies that the continued growth of the city, with the concomitant advance of industrialism, will tend to standardize our cities and make them completely like all other American cities," appears exaggerated in the light of more recent developments. See: E. W. Parks, "Towns and Cities", in W. T. Couch (ed.), *Culture in the South*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), p. 518. I owe this quotation to Ira de A. Reid's stimulating paper "Methodological Notes for Studying the Southern City," *Social Forces*, 19 (December, 1940), pp. 228-35.

<sup>18</sup> During the period 1930 to 1940 the population growth in southern metropolitan districts conformed to the national pattern: higher rates of growth in outside areas than in the central city. The rates were very high in some cases. There seems to exist a fair correlation between rates of population increase of the total metropolitan district and rates of growth in outside areas. See: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Release P-3, No. 26.

A few streets with not too pretentious homes under magnificent old trees in luxuriant gardens usually made up the areas of highest social status. As the city grew and as wealth increased, the "old" families tended to move towards the periphery—following the general fashion of our age. The more industrialized the area, the better are most likely the roads and the greater the inducement to move into the cooler country side. The old homes are then converted into rooming houses and "tourist homes." This in itself is nothing peculiar to the South. However, it so happens that in the kind of city under consideration, the poorer people usually lived at the edge of the town. This was particularly the case with Negroes. It happens, therefore, quite frequently that white people infiltrate into suburban areas occupied by Negroes, buying their property or cancelling their leases. This process, which has been observed by Woofter and others, has been studied in Baton Rouge by my former colleague, Edgar A. Schuler; here the same process of displacement of Negroes by whites has also occurred in the more desirable parts of the old town.<sup>19</sup> As a result, the Negroes now tend to congregate in poorly drained and otherwise disadvantageous areas.<sup>20</sup> The close ecological symbiosis of whites and Negroes which seems to have been characteristic at least of the older cities in the coastal plantation zone,<sup>21</sup> gives way to spatial segregation. Neighborly contacts become rare, and estrangement between the two races tends to increase. At the same time, industrialization is likely to reduce the frequency of interracial contacts through domestic and other personal service (because larger proportions of Negroes find other employment, and because the proportion of whites

not wealthy enough to keep servants increases), while on the other hand, contacts in the industrial plants tend to be more formalized and restricted. The same tendency is, of course, observable in the relations between various social strata of the white population: greater isolation and exclusivity of "upper class" residential areas on the one hand, and the growth of exclusively working class areas on the other hand tend to widen the social distance between the top and the bottom of the social pyramid. At the same time, the concentration of large masses of factory workers, their living together in relatively crowded and less desirable urban areas is likely to contribute to the strengthening of their class consciousness.

2. Thus, the effects of industrialization in the South upon the social stratification of urban society are in principle the same as everywhere. The main differences in the South are due to the late beginning of industrialization and to the presence of the Negroes. In the old cities, the former social pyramid tends to be broadened at the base and perhaps to become more pointed at the top. The old "independent middle class" consisting of cotton merchants, bankers, small manufacturers and other small businessmen as well as lawyers and other professional people is gradually being superseded by a smaller but economically more powerful group composed of larger manufacturers and of the executives of big corporations. It is essentially the same process which has been described by Lynd in *Middletown in Transition* and by C. Wright Mills in *Small Business and Civic Welfare*.<sup>22</sup> Whether these changes in the local élite are always detrimental to the civic spirit in the community, as Mills thinks, remains to be seen. From personal observation it would seem to me that the executives and higher professional personnel of big corporations are sometimes more far-sighted and progressive in civic affairs, such as public health work or city planning, than the old local ruling class. It is undeniable, however, that the latter tends to lose in power and prestige.

At the same time, there occur changes in the stratification of the middle and lower classes of white people. On the one hand, industrialization opens a greater variety of job opportunities to these people, especially to the women, who formerly

<sup>19</sup> See: Reid, *op. cit.*, quoting Woofter. Schuler's study is not published. See also: Bartholomew and Associates, *op. cit.*, chap. 3, *passim*. The same phenomenon has been observed in Jackson, Mississippi, by Dorothy Melvin (unpublished paper in urban sociology).

<sup>20</sup> A similar change in racial ecology was observed in New Orleans by Harlan W. Gilmore, "The Old New Orleans and the New" *American Sociological Review*, 9 (Aug. 1944), pp. 385-394. Here the Negroes, formerly in close symbiosis with the whites moved into the low lying areas as these were drained and public transit system developed.—Industrialization invariably leads to the growth of racially segregated suburban working class areas.

<sup>21</sup> Concerning differences in Negro concentration in southern cities, see: Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

<sup>22</sup> *Small Business and Civic Welfare*, Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business, United States Senate (Washington, 1946).

were very limited in their employment opportunities because the large traditional field of domestic service was closed to them in the South. Thus a broad layer of clerical, technical and supervisory personnel develops, mostly recruited from the "lower middle class" of white people.

On the other hand, there is now developing a permanent, more or less hereditary class of white factory workers. The older southern cities did not have a large class of white manual workers. The Negroes did most of the menial work, and the relatively few white craftsmen and artisans were not widely separated in status from the middle classes. Now, with the increase in white wage earners employed in capitalistic manufacturing enterprises, there develops a new class of city-born and industry-bred factory workers, whose socio-economic position tends to be passed on from one generation to the other. This process is even more evident in the textile mill towns. While the large proportion of the older workers in these communities is still farm born, the great majority of the younger generation are now natives of industrial communities.<sup>23</sup> Like the mill workers who are set apart ecologically and in status as a separate class, the masses of white factory workers in the cities are becoming more separated by widening social distances, emphasized by ecological segregation, as indicated before, from the middle and upper strata. The craftsman in the smaller cities came into frequent personal and business contacts with the socially more prominent people in the community; the factory worker of today tends to live in a separate world. This change has occurred in all American and European cities under the impact of industrialization. In the South, however, it is taking place at a late hour when the industrially more advanced sections of the country have already found new patterns and new institutions in employer-employee relationships. The diffusion of these new patterns into a region where until now the white upper strata have adhered to a paternalistic pattern of labor relations is bound to result in frictions and conflicts of a somewhat different sociological quality than those familiar to us from other regions where these changes began earlier and extended over a longer period of time. Here lies an important field for empirical research.

Further complications arise from the transformation of an increasing proportion of the Negro

population from an agricultural and domestic labor group into an industrial working class. The modern industrial system requires a maximum of interchangeability of workers, particularly in the semiskilled jobs. Any factors that impede the free movement of workers from job to job will interfere with the rational allocation of the labor force and therefore appear objectionable to the entrepreneurs. Everywhere in the world industrialization has tended to break down barriers of nationality, caste and status in industrial employment. This at least has been the long run trend. In the short run it may be advantageous for the employer to exploit status differentials among the workers in order to strengthen his bargaining power and his authority. Contrary to the long run trend the recruitment of supervisory personnel from those classes of white people who have traditionally looked upon the Negro primarily as a potential competitor rather than as a servant or employee also operates. These are the people who now have most of the direct personal relations with the Negro industrial worker. They have none of the elements of an aristocratic code of social conduct which was the basis of the relations between master and slave, or landlord and tenant, where they were at their best. Consequently, the old paternalistic pattern cannot endure. What will follow in its place depends on a variety of factors which cannot be discussed in this paper.<sup>24</sup>

In many of the smaller industrial cities and towns of the South, employers have been able to establish and maintain an unusual degree of control over the entire social existence of "their" workers. The devices used—such as the unincorporated company town or mill village—and the conditions which made such policies possible are too well known to need further elaboration. But it is quite inconceivable and would be contrary to all experience in older industrialized sections of the country that such practices should continue in the long run. Some are, in fact, already disappearing. The main reason for our forecast is, of course, the increasing significance of the labor vote in southern urban areas. We indicated before how the growth of a

<sup>24</sup> While the caste or status system becomes more and more annoying to the employer, and while labor's objective interest lies in the abolition of discriminations, non-economic motivations may prevail and prevent the evolution of a new harmony in race relations.

<sup>23</sup> R. B. Vance, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-287.



city is usually accompanied by an increasing diversification of industries. This is bound to result in greater economic independence of workers from employers and to reduce the control of employers over the workers' vote.

#### CONCLUSION

In summary we may say that manufacturing in the South began chiefly in rural locations and in smaller urban communities; the older larger cities owe their growth primarily to commerce and transportation and only in the second line to manufacturing industries. Very few major cities of the

South were from the beginning primarily manufacturing cities.

The relatively late beginning of industrialization has significant consequences for the ecological development of southern cities as well as for the changes in social stratification. The impact of technically most advanced recently developed branches of manufacturing upon ecology and the rather immediate transition from traditionalistic patterns of labor and race relations to more contractual forms represent some of the significant aspects of the social consequences of industrialization for urban society in the South.